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"My back aches, Sahib," the first one said, indicating the muscles along his spine. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My legs ache, Sahib," said the second, rubbing the muscles of his thighs. Prescription: two aspirin now, two at bedtime.

"My head aches, Sahib," said the third, touching his temples. He had no fever. Prescription: one aspirin now, one at bedtime.

The next two had simple headaches but no fever. Prescription: the same.

The sixth one puzzled me. He had a severe headache around his eyes and his temples. I had no fever thermometer, but I knew from his forehead that his temperature was well above one hundred. He had a nasty cough that sounded dry and rasping. The man was sick, and I was stumped. I decided to roll him up by the fire, give him two aspirin, and then see him again in an hour.

His son, aged ten, had followed him from the village of Koti, apparently apprised of the father's illness. As the man lay before the fire, the son sat at his head and massaged his temples. In an hour I asked the patient how he felt; but before he could reply the son spoke up.

"This is a cruel world. You are rich, we are poor. We have to work hard for our living. Father gets up at dawn and works until dark. So does Mother. We all work hard. It is not fair. It is not fair that you are so rich and we are so poor."

Turning to Rahul, I asked, "What is the meaning of this?"

"Communist propaganda," he replied. "In this part of the world the Communists try to plant simple and troublesome questions in the minds of the young."

"Ask again about my patient."

Once more the son responded, complaining of the gulf between the rich and the poor.

"I don't care right now about your political philosophy," I replied. "How's your father?"

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Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propaganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile. Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

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growing in Europe and in the Middle East. His questions ranged far and wide and were penetrating in their reach.

I turned the discussion back to Ladakh and Tibet and the Buddhist world.

"What is the nature of Communist propaganda in Ladakh?" I asked.

"There is none," Bakula replied.

"No radio programs beamed to Ladakh?"

"There are not more than three radios in all of Ladakh."

"No literature distributed?"

"None."

"No agents nor provocateurs operating for the Communist cause?"

"None."

"No members of the Communist party in Ladakh?"

"Not a single one."

I was amazed at these statements. In most of the countries I had traveled in Asia and the Middle East, the Communists were extremely active—stirring discontent, exploiting popular causes, using democratic slogans, posing as the champions of the oppressed. To find an area where no Communists were busy or involved was a great surprise. I asked Bakula how he explained it.

"The Communist strategy in the Buddhist world is first to get control of the church. That requires not propaganda but control of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," he said.

"They have control of the Panchen Lama?"

"Yes, he is a Chinese sympathizer."

"They now have control of the Dalai Lama?"

Bakula was deep in thought for several minutes.

"No one knows what will happen," he finally replied. "All I can tell you is what I think will happen."

"What is your guess?"

He went on to describe the temporal as well as the spiritual power that is in the hands of the Dalai Lama. It is this temporal

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Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177 [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208•

anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as they draw water from the wells.

In the religious city of Lhasa this year
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [rifles] in their hands
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese military strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

[2]About five cents.
[3]About seventeen dollars.